1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*.

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.)

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.)

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands. 784

The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber (*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are said to be accursed is called *tuki*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley refers to this practice of *tuki*: 784 753

All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For instance, one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheumatism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of having them tapu, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*api*) and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner, take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki* and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees. 756 759 753 784 756 759 753 685

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *mahangalei* (twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*, European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*. 784 753 685 [164]

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Falelea, Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative side line of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses, and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy 784 [178]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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thus schooled: nor would any one, as Mr. Mariner believes, undertake an important surgical operation, unless he feels himself confident in what he is about to perform; and it must be said of them, that they are not rash in their opinions. When a surgeon performs an operation, he never fails to obtain a present from the patient or his friends.

The three most important operations are *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis; *tocolosi*, or an operation for the cure of tetanus, which consists in making a seton of the urethra; and *boca*, or castration.

Cawso is an operation which is performed to allow of the escape of extravasated blood, which may have lodged in the cavity of the thorax, in consequence of wounds, or for the extraction of a broken arrow. There are no other instances where they think of performing it. The instruments they use are a piece of bamboo and a splinter of shell; sometimes a probe made of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf. Mr. Mariner has seen a number of persons on whom the operation had been performed, and who were in perfect health; and two instances of the fact itself he was an eye-witness to. The one we are about to describe was performed upon a Fiji islander, who had received a barbed arrow in the right side, be-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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warlike habits, are more frequently in the way of it: they adopt, however, a remedy which the Tonga people have borrowed of them, and consists in the operation of *tocolósi*, or passing a reed first wetted with saliva into the urethra, so as to occasion a considerable irritation, and discharge of blood; and if the general spasm is very violent, they make a seton of this passage, by passing down a double thread, looped over the end of the reed, and when it is felt in the perinæum they cut down upon it, seize hold of the thread, and withdraw the reed, so that the two ends of the thread hang from the orifice of the urethra, and the doubled part from the artificial opening in the perinæum; the thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, which excites very great pain, and abundant discharge of blood. The latter operation Mr. Mariner has seen performed several times; but only twice for tetanus, arising in both instances from wounds in the foot: in these cases the spasms, but particularly the convulsive paroxysms, were exceedingly violent, extending to the whole body, neck, face, trunk, and extremities: but in neither case was the jaw permanently locked, though on every accession it was violently closed for a few seconds. A native of the Fiji islands performed one operation, and Hala A'pi A'pi the other: they both hap-

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3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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752 pened at Vavaoo, at different times. In either
164 case the disease came on suddenly, three or
[759 four days after the wound was received, which
563] was from an arrow not barbed. The moment
752 the symptoms became evident *tocolôsi* was performed. In the short space of two hours one of them was greatly relieved, and the other in about six or eight hours. The following day the one on whom Hala A'pi A'pi operated was quite well, and afterwards had no other attack; consequently the thread was withdrawn: but the other on the second day was not quite free from spasmodic symptoms, and a paroxysm coming on, the seton was moved frequently, which in two or three hours gave him great relief, and he afterwards had no other attack: it was thought prudent, however, to keep in the seton till the fourth or fifth day, when it was withdrawn. The effect of this operation was a considerable pain and tumefaction of the penis, but which gradually subsided (in about five or six days): the artificial openings in both cases healed spontaneously, without any difficulty.

752 These are the only two cases of tetanus in
123 which this operation was performed that Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty, having been an eye-witness of them. He heard of several others at the Hapai islands, at the island of Tonga, &c. some of which were equally for-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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three master-fishermen; three other fishing-experts; three experts in medicine. Excepting cases where one individual may be an expert in more than one activity, this gives a total of fifteen different experts, of whom two in medicine are women, the rest being men.[11]

In some of these activities men other than the experts often claim enough skill to carry them on at a lower than expert level of efficiency. Thus many Pangai men can put up with some degree of neatness a small Tongan-style house. If on the other hand, one wanted to build a large Tongan house, complete with ornamental lashings and finished to the last detail, then the services of the recognized village expert would be necessary. Again, many doctor themselves for small pains and aches. Should pain become acute or not readily yield to simple treatment, then one of the recognized experts will be called in.[12] Finally, a man may fish with success indifferent or otherwise, according to what skill, luck, or knowledge he possesses. Should it be desired however, to carry out a large communal fishing expedition, then it would be absolutely imperative to place the direction of such an expedition in the competent hands of one of the master-fishermen.

The varied skills of these experts and the compensations they receive for their services are mentioned elsewhere in the consideration of specific economic activities.

PLANTING AND CULTIVATION

Clearing of land to be used for gardens may be done at any time of the year. A suitable area is selected, due consideration being given to exposure to sun, shelter from prevailing winds, and relative nearness to the formed bush-tracks that lead back to the village. The trees and undergrowth are cut down and thrown to one side. When dry they may be burnt and the ashes scattered over the cleared

[11] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 143-146) mentions the names and duties of still other artisans who are not apparently represented today among the men of Pangai village.

[12] Native medical treatment is forbidden by law but is practised everywhere, even in villages that have easy access to Government medical service.

pubic-hair when her child reaches puberty. To drink coconuts opened at the bottom instead of pierced at the top will give her baby an abnormally large mouth. Commenting about, or criticising a person who has any physical defect will result in the child's being born with the same abnormality. Finally, it is dangerous for her to occupy any one position for a length of time, such as sitting upright for a long time or standing bent over her work. If she is not careful about this, she will suffer from abnormally hard labour. 843

BIRTH

The birth of a first-born child is a more important occasion than the birth of subsequent children. For the first-born, the father prepares a big feast when labour begins. He sends for the wife's mother to announce the event and all eat together. Both the mother's mother and the father's mother prepare special pandanus plaited mats and on these the child is placed immediately after birth. The other customs surrounding birth are similar for all infants. 844 (574)

Birth takes place within the house. A partition of bark cloth is hung from the rafters to divide the house into the family section and the mother's section. Plenty of soft mats are placed on the floor of the mother's part of the house. The mother's mother and the father's mother together with an expert medicine-man attend the mother. She sits on her mother's lap. The mother massages the back of the parturient and exerts pressure during labour pains. The medical expert sits in front of the parturient urging her to bear down with all her strength as the labour pains increase. He takes the baby with his hands as it is born, sucks the baby's nostrils to clear them of mucous, then turns the baby over on his hand and slaps it vigorously on the back to give it strength. The baby is placed on a bed of white bark cloth next to the mother. A wide band of bark cloth is wound round the mother's waist to give her support, and pressure is exerted until the afterbirth comes away. Cups of cold water are given to the mother to drink. The medicine-man ties the cord with a thread of cotton and places it against a bark cloth beater if the infant is a girl, before cutting the cord with a pair of scissors. If the infant is a boy, the cord is cut resting on a garden hoe. As the cord is snipped, the (593) (606) (759) (759)

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given [759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, [465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as [574] big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the [262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mehekitanga* 846 (father's sister) may come into the house and hold 601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is [854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent [795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark [854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away [574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

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881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl [867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with [593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl hence- [602] forward observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

881 Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is super- 304 cised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the 178 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert. 743 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the 759 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is per- formed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of 178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoul- 881 ders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, be- 304 come a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion 152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the 574 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity 431

881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice. 178 Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe 304 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the [574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

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765 858 574 276 766 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 858 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion in which an immature infant may be buried as compared with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.

761 152 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience. [765] [594] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

759 759 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the village. [743] [777] He consents to treatment from the white doctor only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in Neiafu. 753 775 In general, however, the villager probably feels

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that many types of sickness are due to ghostly visitants.[26] To deal with these ghosts, Tongan methods are more likely to bring about cures than the white man's science. The following treatments were compiled for us by one of the village medicine-men. They are given here, not as a complete survey of the village medical knowledge, but as indicating the sort of techniques that medicine men use in their day to day practice in the village.

Headache: There are two main types of treatment: (a) Massage the head with a mixture of six *uhi* leaves crushed and mixed with coconut-oil; observe also the following rules: keep the head covered, do not go out in the wind, keep away from the sun and the sea; (b) Stamp on the ground three times; then place the feet on a mat and stamp again. Repeat this procedure five times in succession. This treatment is advisable if it is thought that the headache is caused by a ghost. The ghost is likely to drop from the body with the repeated shaking.

Earache: If the earache appears to be caused by an abscess or inflammation, massage the region of the ear gently with six *nonu* leaves. On the other hand, should there be no signs of external irritation, then dip the finger in coconut-oil and poke the oil deep into the ear.

Mouthache: Spread coconut-oil over the back of the mouth and palate, then rinse out the mouth three times with water.

Toothache: (a) Smear coconut-oil on the cheek in the region of the aching tooth; (b) Place a small piece of Tongan tobacco on the aching tooth; (c) Take scrapings from the bark of the *angoango* tree, strain them through the stipule of the coconut-tree and drink the liquid; (d) Collect twenty-four *takafulu* leaves, pound them and drink the resulting juice.

Sore eyes: Take six *hulala* leaves, pound them, then dip a piece of bark cloth into the liquid and squeeze out into the sore eye.

[26] Notes on the conceptual basis of Tongan disease are given in a short paper by Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32 (1923) 136-142.

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757 824 *Stomach-ache:* (a) To the liquid from twelve pounded *nonu* leaves add three drops of coconut-oil, strain through coconut-stipule and drink with water; (b) Mix scrapings from the bark of the *mohokia* tree and of the *kea* breadfruit tree with water, and drink; (c) For a laxative, add water to the scraped bark of the *fa'efa'elunga* tree and drink; (d) Massage the abdomen with four leaves from the fig-tree.

Boils: (a) Crush bark scrapings from the *nonu* tree and smear on the inflamed area after mixing with crushed *koka* leaves; (b) For spots on a baby's skin, pound or chew the leaves of the *fekika* tree, mix with water. Dip coconut-stipule in this liquid and squeeze the liquid into the baby's mouth.

Coughs: Scrape the bark of the *toa* tree or the *tava* tree, add water to the scrapings and drink the liquid.

[752] *Cuts:* (a) Take the husk of the immature green coconut, heat it until it is warm, then squeeze out drops of liquid from the husk over the cut; (b) Crush the bark of the *fale* tree or the leaves of the *tamatama* tree, dip a piece of bark cloth in this juice and squeeze over the cut.

752 *Broken bones:* Apply a splint made from a section of the sheath of the coconut-tree to the broken limb and bathe the fracture night and morning with hot water.

757 *"Body-breaks":* Whenever there is pain in the upper part of the body, in the chest, lungs or back for instance, this pain is attributed to an obscure internal "breakage" in the body. Treatment: Add two drops of coconut-oil to some hot water and massage the seat of the pain with this liquid. In addition, mix the scraped bark of the *lekileki* tree with water and drink night and morning immediately after the massage [755] is finished. For a backache, standing on one foot several times each day is also recommended.

757 759 The remedies just given are the secret recipes of one medicine-man only. Other experts have their own variations on these fundamental techniques of herbal and massage-treatment. The sick person will consult the experts in succession until one or other provides the treatment that effects the cure. It is of considerable advantage to the expert to know the acts likely to have caused the sickness,

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even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

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743 a stage in their disease that the case is hopeless: the patient
177 will surely die if he stays out of hospital, he will most likely
829 die if operated upon. The dilemma of the conscientious white doctor, therefore, is a cruel one: whether to use what skill he possesses in an attempt to save life, an attempt in which the chance of success is small; or whether to keep the sick person out of hospital on the theory that the fewer the Tongans who die in hospital, the more chance there is in the long run of having the Tongans accept white medical skill at a time and stage in their illness when safe and effective help can be given. The white man's medical science will only be accepted by the villager in preference to native treatments and conceptualizations when he has confidence in this science. In the present day relations between white doctor and village-patients, there is nothing more difficult to achieve than this substantial measure of confidence without which white medicine is ineffective, and the pain and suffering of preventable disease among the villagers go unchecked.

177 The attitude of fear is no longer a specific attitude
829 directed to this white doctor or that. It applies to the whole
759 system of white medicine. It applies also, therefore, in large measure to those Tongans who have been trained in
759 Suva as native medical practitioners, and who conscientiously
759 attempt to apply in Tonga what they have learned of white medicine. It is revealing to note in this connection that one trained Tongan medical practitioner who, far away from control by a white doctor, practises a strange mixture of white science and native herbalism (mostly the latter), is so extremely popular with the Tongans that they come from far and near among all the northern islands of the kingdom to consult him and to suffer his treatments. They feel confidence in this Tongan because his medicine is nearer ancient Tongan practice than white medicine. The addition to these familiar techniques of a crude surgery and some of the more potent white man's drugs, serves but to increase his prestige among his patients. His treatments combine both the familiar and the strikingly novel in a manner that has irresistible appeal to the Tongan of today who has a foothold in two cultures and is not yet prepared for the best that white medicine can offer.

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The practice of this Tongan incidentally offers a difficult problem for the white doctor who is his theoretical superior. Should the Tongan be disciplined because he is to some degree playing fast and loose with the knowledge of white medicine gained in hospital and medical school in Suva? Should he be allowed to practice unchecked, with the end in view that he is accustoming some Tongans at least to some of the methods and ideas of white medicine, even though he is admittedly "misusing" others? The questions are hard to answer. The white doctor, more thoroughly trained in a scientific tradition than the semi-trained Tongan, may decide that the practice of the latter is nothing but a travesty of white medicine. Hence it should be strictly controlled. On the other hand, the student of culture-change must perhaps recognize that today, the Tongans are still closer to aboriginal culture than they are to full participation in traditional and scientific beliefs of western European culture. From this viewpoint, a Tongan who combines native with scientific medicine, skilfully blending the proportions of the two in such a way as to secure and keep the confidence of his Tongan patients, represents not only what the Tongan wants, but also in a very real sense, what he needs and can absorb, according to his position on that theoretical base line that joins aboriginal Tongan culture at one end to western European culture at the other.

At this stage, to give the Tongan more than he can adjust to, even though that "more" will theoretically keep him in better health, is to overlook the fact that there is such a person as a patient and not merely a disease to be treated: a patient with all the hopes and fears and anxieties, all the attitudes, beliefs, and customs which make him regard a scientific medical tradition with more than a little scepticism. A rigorous and orthodox practice of this medicine may theoretically cure a disease. At the same time it may also antagonize a patient, a person of flesh and blood, but also a person chock full of the most contradictory emotions. Education of the Tongan in such fashion that ultimately he will accept and welcome white medicine is bound to be slow and laborious, a step-by-step method with the only alternative an all-or-none reaction that is more likely to be none rather than all.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

177 759 829 757 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 276 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity. For some few men the social significance is outweighed by an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava* more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are exceptional, however. For the rest *kava*-drinking provides the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued and discussed again and again. For young people these meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk. In this way they learn much of the stock information and traditions of the village. This of course applies only to young men. Young women are not present at these parties, except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller and more occasional parties initiated by older women for women only. Older women may also be present at the men's parties, particularly those women of the household in which the party is being held. An older woman or two are most likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 571 562 [584]

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the
646 usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He, the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were happily dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance.
[177] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation
[829] would not be crowned with complete success until they
[875] mastered another language besides their own, and that
[759] national prosperity could not be assured unless the population ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies. In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted that there would be no more dissension between the Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king interrupted the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently to speak up.

It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king, but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come, with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irk-
[533] some duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breathless at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai
574 to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery. The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) . 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

by Parliament as being in league with the traders, and by the traders as being guilty of the blackest duplicity. The Chamber of Commerce, indeed, with its dying breath demanded from me why the Government, so ignominiously beaten on so vital a point as the import duty on kerosene, had not at once tendered their resignation.

The shipping laws were more intelligible to the House. Many of them, as the owners or masters of small craft, had had a bitter experience of the law regarding coasting licences, and a strong party were in favour of exempting craft owned by Tongans and used only as yachts from the coasting dues paid by steamers and vessels plying for hire. But the majority were against enacting anything that might be cast up against them as one-sided legislation.

Hansard, meanwhile, was growing to unmanageable dimensions. The clerks took down every speech in shorthand, and sat up till daylight night after night transcribing their notes. Not the smallest spoken word passed unrecorded. It was time for a brief holiday, for the sick-list was heavy; and many noblemen who could take the air in native attire could not attend the House until their feet had sufficiently recovered to encounter again the penalties attaching to boots. The Speaker announced a three days' holiday, and added that by special arrangement the Government medical officer would prescribe gratis for all members in need of medical treatment. During the morning a dense crowd of legislators besieged the dispensary. Within was the newly arrived doctor, heated and gesticulating, trying to drive back the mob of senators, who were all striving to describe in

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga ~~OU9~~

646 759 dumb-show the peculiar symptoms of stomach-ache from generous living.

646 421 423 The debate upon the land question, scarcely less important than the Customs, opened inauspiciously. Manase, the orator, made a set speech upon the history of the land laws of the country, incidentally alluding to the magnanimity of the king. The House seems to be moved—perhaps by his eloquence. There is a long and ominous silence. Then Niukabu, a noble of Vavau with a grey moustache, rises to order. He has with difficulty contained himself, he says, during the last indecent speech. What does Manase think? Have the lords of Hahavea no feelings? Do they like to be reminded of the past? The three lords of Hahavea glare responsive at the ceiling. I ask Kubu my neighbour what Manase has said to hurt their feelings. He whispers that when the king conquered them in the last war of 1853, contrary to Tongan custom, he restored their lands to them, and to speak of the king's magnanimity recalls unpleasant memories. I mentally resolve not to make even the most distant allusion to Tongan history. In spite, however, of the temporary gloom thrown over us by this incident, our pet land scheme was passed with but slight alteration. In future a taxpayer who refused to pay his taxes was to lose his land.

646 576 I was absent from the second reading of the Minor Offences Bill. When I came in the Premier, who is not often moved to express himself strongly, was rating the House in unmeasured terms. He had not believed, he said, that the Legislative Council of Tonga could so far forget its dignity as to indulge in such a disgraceful scene. What would be said of Tonga if such a thing were known

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary 844
sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted 759
the profession from choice, and is consequently looked
down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given [465]
in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more. The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat 844
specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the
umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a
good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make
her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and [853]
rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of
candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to
make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by
hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman,
because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed
to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first 846
month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts,
are told off to supply the mother with food and look after
the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It
would be better for her and the child if at this stage
she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the 853
missionaries had inculcated family life on the European
plan, the native social system recognised a physical
peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the
seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short
a period of the birth, and consequently the premature
weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of
suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for
the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

carried in piecemeal or the palace built round it. It belonged to the period when the Germans acquired their coaling-station and Mr. Baker was decorated with the Red Eagle of Prussia. There are four large rooms on the upper floor, three of them furnished in European style, and the fourth used as a lumber-room for the toys and litter which Polynesian chiefs buy so readily and tire of so quickly. We found Her Majesty in the best bedroom, which is furnished with a four-post bed and Brussels carpet. Everything was immaculately clean, and there was nothing to show that the room did not belong to an European lady. The queen wore a pink silk wrapper, and was sitting in a low chair with her brown baby on her knee. Her illness, which at one time had caused great anxiety, accounted for her pallor and her delicate appearance. Though she is not handsome, her slenderness and her delicacy of feature give her a certain air of distinction, and, like all Tongan women of good family, she has pretty manners. Having made my christening present and kissed the baby, I took my leave. During the queen's illness Dr. Maclennan had a busy time, for, though the king has an implicit belief in European treatment, the old ladies about the court insist upon administering nos-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

644 757 759 trums of their own on the principle of "more medicine, quicker cure." It is only by simulated outbursts of indignation that Dr. Maclennan can get his orders obeyed.

752 In surgery alone do the Tongans frankly admit their helplessness. An old shed in our host's compound had been hastily converted into an operating-room, in order that the presence of a naval surgeon to assist in operations might be [164] turned to account. For several days in succession the two doctors were operating on bad cases of elephantiasis, the relations of the patients camping outside to act as hospital nurses. Even under these unfavourable conditions the patients all made rapid recovery, but there was one painful case in which the patient deliberately preferred death. A young man, while pig-shooting in the bush, had put a charge of shot into his own leg, shattering the ankle. There was nothing for him but amputation, but when his relations heard that he must lose his foot, they refused to allow the operation. They would try herbs, they said, and for a day or two they brought reports that he was better. Gangrene at last set in, and while there was yet time I went to reason with the lad's mother. Secretly, I fear, the reflection that if he lived the lad would

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

SICKNESS, GHOSTS AND MEDICINE IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott, M.A.
Nukualofa, Tonga.

752 PHYSICAL disabilities have not all equally obvious explanations. If a man is struck on the head with a club, the broken skull and knobby piece of hardwood are material evidences easily 753 associated with his lifeless body. Far otherwise are the mysterious internal pains and weaknesses that attack, now the limbs, then the trunk or the head. How explain the vertigo that may overcome a man on whom is no external mark of violence, that causes his spirit [152] to flee and leave his body senseless on the ground? The Tongan succumbs to nervous pains in a way that, at first sight, seems inconsistent with the stoical fortitude with which he bears muscular injuries; but the explanation probably is that in the one case there is obvious and satisfactory cause for the discomfort, whilst the other is uncanny and dread inspiring. A young fellow, a fine strapping man, who, as a schoolboy in Sydney, had given promise of reaching the highest rung in the cricket ladder, was suffering from a swelling in the side, which the white doctor, a capable surgeon, pronounced incurable without an operation which he, with the facilities at hand, 752 did not deem himself justified in undertaking. The doomed man returned to his own village, and without anæsthetic or antiseptic, was operated on with a penknife, and is now verging into hale and portly, but active, middle age. A woman, very stout, who had lived long enough to become a grandmother, had to have a rib removed. The operation was performed by a skilful European surgeon, but the patient's health would not stand chloroform, and a local anæsthetic proved [152] ineffective. She bore the operation without flinching. Whilst the cutting and scraping of bone was going on the hospital attendants kept asking her how she was. "I'm all right," she would reply, and at last, exasperated by the repeated query, she exclaimed [153] impatiently, "Go ahead, and if I cannot stand it I'll tell you." And yet these people, who endure wounds and fractures with such courage, are unnerved by wind in the stomach, and go to bed to 752 nurse a headache. The native massaging is excellent. I have 759 experienced its benefits. One afternoon I ricked my ankle rather badly. Twice that evening a girl massaged it with warm water and oil (the almost invariable accompaniments of the treatment): it was

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

painful, but the next day I walked about without the least twinge. I asked her how she knew where to rub. She replied that she just rubbed. "Well," I said, "How did you learn to do it?" "By doing it," she answered, "my father used to make me go and do it for people." And that was all the explanation she was able to give. At another time I was cured of a strain in the groin by a man who just pressed the top of his thumb gently on the strain, so gently that I thought he was afraid of hurting me: but I was quite well in a few hours.

The trouble with the Tongan practitioners is that they have little or no idea of diagnosing a complaint. They just try one thing after another, and the massaging, excellent as it is, is frequently employed where it is not only useless, but even dangerous. Diagnosis is replaced by a series of trials and failures; as the Tongans say, "We'll have a try." If one thing does not show quick results, try another. A man went to a missionary and asked for medicine for a little girl. "She is very ill indeed," he said, "yesterday we gave her seventeen sorts of medicine and she is not better yet." Different practitioners have their own special remedies. One medicine man, or woman, after another, tries his cure, till one is found which gives promise of success, which shows a "sign," or until death cuts short the experiment, and gives a verdict which is accepted with pious resignation as the will of the Lord.

Nor are efforts at cure confined to the person of the patient. Neglect of the dead is a fruitful source of discomfort and sickness to the living. Many ghosts, however, do not seem to merit so much fear as pity. Certainly there are bad-tempered ghosts, who are the ghosts of bad-tempered people pretty often, but frequently the dead cause annoyance to the living to draw attention to their own miseries. The root of a tree has grown through the head of a buried corpse, and a living relative suffers from headache. Of course the cause of the trouble may not be located at once. The living sufferer has recourse to one treatment after another. All is unavailing. At length the cemetery may be tried. The grave is opened, the root cut out, and the headache disappears. It happens, in the cases of this sort of which I have heard, the patient has generally, if not always been a woman, and the suffering corpse, or ghost, that of an elderly female relative. Sometimes a rearrangement of the buried bones sets everything right, and effects a cure. This ghostly physic is not effective only in cases of headache. The woman who so courageously bore the loss of a rib made good recovery, except for a small hole which refused to close up. It did not occasion any real discomfort, but naturally she preferred to be without it. An investigation of her mother's bones was at length decided upon; but I have not heard whether it has been carried out. The inconsiderate affection of the

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

362 [435] £15—having a thatched roof, reed walls, and an earthen floor. Their construction ensures dirt, dust and damp. Health would certainly improve, along with comfort, if they were required to have wooden floors and more satisfactory roofing.

743 Tonga has long had a system of free medical benefits. These are provided by the Medical Department which has a hospital of fifty beds at Nukualofa, one of twelve beds at Ha'apai, and one of twenty beds at Vavau, all of them equipped with operating theatres. In addition 759 [743] there are dispensaries in both the Nuias and also in Eua. A European doctor is head of the Department, and a European matron runs the Nukualofa hospital, but the rest of the staff is entirely Tongan, comprising thirteen medical practitioners, ten nurses, four dressers, and two dispensers. Their work comes up to a high standard, and they are more suitable for dealing with their own people than Europeans are. There is a high turnover of nurses through marriage, but not a wastage, since ex-nurses play a very valuable role in their villages as voluntary medical 757 workers and educators. Such education is needed because the Tongans are not only inclined to be careless about their ailments but also to be suspicious of western medicine.

Tonga's Attainments and Prospects

642 This sketch of modern Tonga describes how a small oceanic peasantry has made a way of life which is suitable to the dignity of free men, in harmony with the requirements of economic justice and [648] full of promise for the future. The Tongans are unique and significant in being the only independent people of the Pacific: subject, it is true, to the control of the British Colonial Office in foreign affairs and to its supervision over public finance, but in all other respects free from the domination of a master race and secure in the possession of their [178] national heritage. Continuity has been preserved with traditional institutions, and modern impacts have liberalised rather than destroyed 000 them. This liberalisation is far from finished and may well lead to the development of a mature Polynesian democracy.

434 Tonga provides its people with a modest, but adequate and secure income; modest because its cash value probably does not exceed £50 a year, adequate because it provides them with enough food, clothing and housing to keep them well and happy, and secure because it is largely independent of economic fluctuations. The Kingdom is far

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

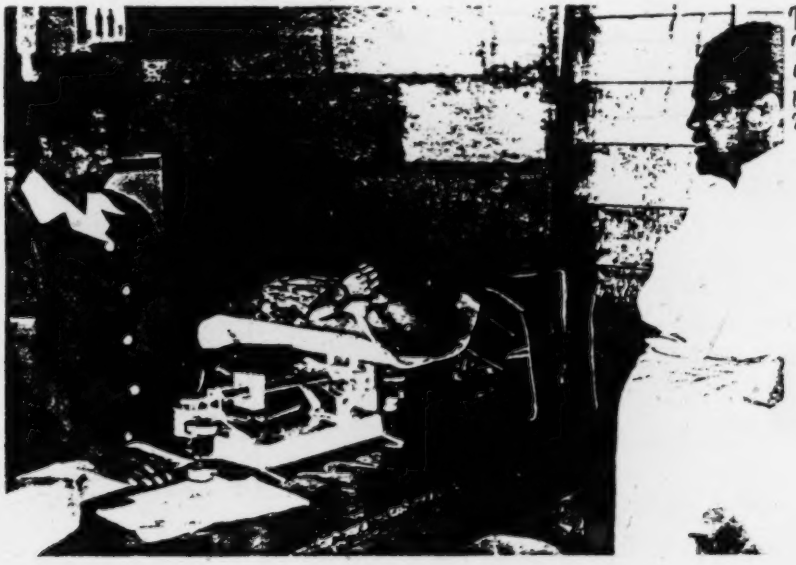
selves of medical Missionary skill: while, at the same time, they have confessed to the general efficacy of the treatment received, by the entire abandonment of many of the quackeries of their own professional doctors.

These Tonguese doctors, or *kau faitoo*, were a distinct class who confined the knowledge of their art to their own families, and thus made the employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. The practice they followed was a combination of sorcery, and superstitious ceremony, with the administration of herbal medicines, or the external application of medicated oils, or pounded leaves. Unquestionably, their knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs was considerable; but, not unfrequently, fatal results ensued from their prescriptions. Sometimes, in heathen days, these occurred by design, and at all times their administration might be accompanied by serious accident. For the sake of securing greater secrecy, the herbs are often gathered during the darkness of night. Hence cases have been known, in which a deadly poison has thus become mixed with the intended medicine, and the patient has been destroyed. For the relief of local pain, the natives are great believers in the soothing and curative powers of proper external manipulation and friction, as well as in a liberal depletion, by small gashes, made over the afflicted part, after the style of "cupping." In rheumatic affections, and pains of a kindred nature, the natives employ medicated embrocations, which, I believe, are similar to those mentioned by Dr. Seemann as in use among the Fijians.*

In setting limbs, a few of the Tonguese doctors

* "Viti," by Dr. Seemann, p. 340.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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Medical service is free in Tonga. Modern medicine is thriving, and there are hospitals on all the main islands. Outreach clinics are also held periodically in villages, such as this photo (above) of a student nurse, Susitina 'Ofa, running a well-baby clinic in Kolomotu'a. Meanwhile, Tongan folk medicine is still practiced widely. In the photo at right, 'Ana Koka obtains scrapings from a *lepohina* branch (a variety of the castor-oil plant) to prepare a remedy for her sick son, 'Afa, in 'Ohonua, 'Eua. Liquid made from the inner bark is used for treating fever or inflammation, and it can also serve as a laxative.

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'Oku ta'etotongi e faito'o kotoa ki he kakai Tonga. 'Oku fu'u manakoa 'aupito e faito'o fakapapalangi, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko e ta'ahine naesi akoako ia ko Susitina 'Ofa 'i he fale sivi pepe 'i Kolomotu'a. Ka neongo ia, 'oku kei malohi 'aupito pe foki mo e faito'o fakatonga, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u. Ko 'Ana Koka ia 'oku ne vauvau ha va'a lepohina ke 'ai 'aki ha faito'o ma'a hono ki'i foha ko 'Afa. Ko e ongo me'a eni mei 'Ohonua, 'Eua.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous & ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

nima and *nawgia*, the cutting off of fingers and the strangling of children, respectively, were frequently employed when a noble lay seriously ill.

A story related by Martin gives insight into the attitude of one Tongan man toward disease. During an apparent conflict between a visiting Hawaiian and a Tongan, both of whom had offered to cure Mr. Mariner of "a disordered state of the stomach and bowels attended with headache and drowsiness," the Tongan laughed at the Hawaiian's infusion made of unnamed leaves and roots, which was said to be powerful enough to kill a man if taken in a large dose.

To the Tongan, the idea of curing a sick man by means that would make a healthy man sick was absurd. He offered instead to let some of Mr.Mariner's blood by scarifying his arms and legs with shells.

The Hawaiian, to prove his own faith in the plant decoction, imbibed a dose equal to that prescribed for the sick man. Mr. Mariner followed the example and was well the following morning.

Apparently, then, the use of plants in medicines must have flourished in Tonga sometime after Martin's report in 1817.

Today the use of plants in medicines is vanishing. There are hospitals in each of the main island groups and dispensaries located in several towns. A new hospital with modern surgical facilities is near completion on Tongatapu. There are many people, however, who still carry the knowledge and use plant cures, but mainly for treating minor problems.

One revered practitioner (Uia) refers his patients to the Government Hospital or the Catholic Sisters if they are suffering from what he thinks is a "European" illness. He discerns the origin of a disease by "touching the patient in the body and face" and refrains from treating illnesses that originate outside of Tonga.

One woman practitioner was called upon to prepare a remedy for a patient only after the woman—suffering from a serious fungal infection on her hands and arms—had visited the dispensary six times. Ointments given to this patient by the local dispensary proved ineffective. It was learned through Mumui Tatola that the six different

757 ointments prescribed were of an antibacterial nature. Only an antifungal antibiotic would have worked in this case. After [278] treatment with the plant remedy (a concoction of the leaves of *Solanum uporo*, *Evodia hortensis*, and *Capsicum frutescens*), the patient reported that she was able to sleep, no longer kept awake by pain.

Collocott (7) believes that diagnosis proceeds by a series of trials with different medicines. He reports that one cure after another is tried until one is found that 759 works, or until the patient dies. As in Fiji, 757 different practitioners have their own special cures. For each of them the etiology of a [171] disease is unimportant. What matters is knowing if a certain condition is one they can cure (23). Each practitioner is highly specialized and may treat illnesses associated with only one body system. Some practitioners will treat all illnesses but are specialized in that they treat only children or the [755] aged. I did not encounter any practitioner who diagnosed a complaint through communications with the supernatural world. 753 There is one reference in the literature, however, which indicates that there is some belief in the psychological causation of certain diseases. Churchward's dictionary of [754] the Tongan language defines the word *sausau* as a bundle of leaves buried near a tree and believed to cause sickness to anyone taking fruit from the tree. The word *fula* is defined as a swelling caused by breaking a *tapu* (a cultural restriction), especially by eating a chief's leftover food (6).

278 Few plants are cultivated specifically for 249 their medicinal value, and many useful species are found growing in villages. Most 278 medicinal plants are collected in "the bush" or near the sea. There do not appear to be 314 any special harvesting techniques and the leaves, bark, and roots are taken from any plant of the required species.

278 Most medicines are prepared in the form of infusions. Generally, a handful of the required plant part is wrapped in a clean white cloth or the stipule of *Cocos nucifera* and squeezed five or six times in a half [757] coconut shell of fresh water. The resulting filtrate is taken usually once daily until the patient responds to treatment. In all cases where stem or root bark is used, the cork

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE IV

125 SPECIES TESTED FOR ALKALOIDS (ALL NEGATIVE)

Binomial	Plant Part
Annona muricata	leaves
Cananga odorata	leaves
Casuarina equisetifolia	bark
Clerodendrum inerme	bark
Erythrina variegata	leaves
Euodia hortensis	leaves
Ficus obliqua	bark and leaves
Glochidion ramiflorum	bark
Hernandia moerenhoutiana	leaves
Jasminum simplicifolium	bark
Lantana camara var. *mista*	leaves
Syzygium corynocarpum	leaves
Syzygium malaccense	bark
Tarenna sambucina	bark
Thespesia populnea	leaves

Using both Mayer's and Ecolle's reagents, two separate tests for the presence of alkaloids were completed in the laboratory. The two reagents were chosen because of their variable sensitivities to different kinds of alkaloids.

All tests conducted in the laboratory for the presence of alkaloids in 15 crude drug samples were negative. The species tested are enumerated in Table IV.

VII. Discussion

757 Apparently the Tongan prefers to be treated for serious ailments by doctors in the government hospitals. Plant remedies are employed in emergencies or when "European" medical practices have failed to 757 effect a cure. Tongan folk-medicine is an art practiced mainly by the oldest people. 184 Although one or two practitioners encountered on Tongatapu were about 30 years of [759] age, the others were well over 60. Young people generally consider plant medicine a form of superstition and look upon its practice as not really effective, if not actually dangerous. 757 There is no systematic schooling for transmitting these plant remedies from one 868 generation to the next, and for this reason I believe that with the passing of one more generation little of this traditional knowledge will survive, except in occasional notebooks stored with other possessions of another age.

[p.448-A]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase.

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants.

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000.

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent.

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000.

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people.

Some causes of death in recent years were:—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand.

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births.

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05.

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84. See the chapter "Food" p. 275 ff.; the present very high prices for copra (chief export product) make it possible for every native to buy wheat flour, sugar (both often by the sackful), canned meat, fish and fat, and other food imported from Europe.

could be the frequently observable dental defects of young Tongan men and women, (85)

[752]

85. According to circumstances, defective, aching teeth are not filled but extracted, at any rate on the small islands.

as well as the striking occurrence of partial baldness among middle-aged and older males. (86)

86. This is not yet mentioned in the old sources.

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[161]

It seems noteworthy that venereal diseases are not widespread in Tonga.

Summarizing, one may say that in this Archipelago the increase (or intensification) of diseases caused by European influence have had no devastating effect on the population which, in the last 30 years, has doubled and in the preceding decades (with the exception of the influenza epidemic of 1918) remained on approximately the same level.

Health Care

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There is an organized system of health care today in Tonga, the beginnings of which go back to the missions, while now it is exclusively run by the government. All natives have a right to free medical and dental (tooth extraction and filling) treatment financed by the Tongan state. This treatment is at present carried out in the entire Archipelago by a white physician known as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/, by a second (pensioned) white physician who as "medical officer" /cited in English/ has an advisory function, by approximately 20 Tongan assistant physicians ("medical practitioners" /cited in English/) and assistant dentists ("dental practitioners" /cited in English/), by

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four medical dispensers ("pharmacists," "dispensers" /cited in English), one white nurse, approximately 25 Tongan nurses /40/ and a Tongan assistant staff. Of the Tongans active in health service the medical and dental practitioners are trained in the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji, the rest are trained in the Archipelago. The personnel working in the health service are used primarily in the Nuku'alofa Hospital on Tongatapu, secondarily in the Neiafu Hospital on the island of Vava'u that lies about 300 miles farther north, thirdly in the auxiliary hospital on Lifuka which lies approximately between these two islands. In two villages on Tongatapu, as well as on four other islands there are "pharmacies," "dispensaries" /cited in English/ that are served by Tongan assistant doctors or medical dispensers who also take over the treatment of the simpler cases. Moreover, on Tongatapu a motorized infant welfare service has begun operations.

The Tongans working in health service are quite intelligent and capable natives, and in general have the good will to carry out increasingly more and better work. However, in accordance with their un-European mentality (their entirely different conception of life and work), they find it difficult to carry out this European system perfectly enough so that it has the complete effectiveness which we in Europe take for granted. (87)

87. For example, in none of the hospitals is there as yet any cooking done for the patients. Since food preparation is left to the relatives, no proper diet can be carried out. In the main hospitals, too, the Tongan physicians find it difficult, as the present writer experienced, to give the prescribed shots and medicines regularly. The dispensary on Nomuka has for years been threatening to collapse; through the broken windows and the dilapidated corrugated iron roof rain showers fall on the rusted

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instruments which are nontheless still used. The dispenser working there often forgets his stethoscope when he makes house calls (he keeps it hanging in the open window in the rain); he often makes a diagnosis without touching the patients, and as medicine he dispenses mainly two kinds of tablets; the quarterly health inspection entrusted to him (dwellings, water supply, latrines) on the four islands in his charge he fails to carry out even annually, and then only very superficially.

744 657 563 177 [752] The few whites working in Tonga can naturally not take the drastic action they would in a colony, though they make a successful effort to keep "the machinery running." There are, however, several examples of surgical operations quite skilfully carried out by Tongan physicians, and in general this European system of health service has undoubtedly brought about many an improvement for the natives.

744 164 177 514 One achievement of the modern health service is the repression of the hookworm disease which formerly occurred rather frequently. It was combatted by the Tongan government with aid from a Rockefeller grant; around 1930, cement latrines were widely introduced. Today most Tongan families (88)

88. The author's count in 'Uiha/'Uiha and Fungamisis/Vava'u in 1952 showed, for example, that of 100 households (45 respectively) 83 (40 respectively) have cement latrines.

have such latrines which they /41/ can buy at a very low price from the government and "finish" as they wish.

744 164 [758] The fight against tuberculosis, however, is still very much in its beginnings. It is altogether unclear how many natives are afflicted with this disease; the simple mass examinations in the schools have not been able to give a reliable picture. The wherewithal is apparently lacking for combating it on a large scale. On the smaller islands of the

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278 178 old Tongan medicines and methods of treatment still hold their own more or less successfully in most families, and there are even Tongan [759] doctors who apply them when pills fail. Whereas a few of the simpler herbal medicines are familiar to many Tongans and can be easily prepared if necessary, most of the remedies are known only to certain "experts" (male as well as female) who have inherited their knowledge and whom people like to consult for advice and help.

757 As examples of surviving Tongan cures we mention the following treatments. (95)

95. From Sione Matoto on Nomuka, 1952.

Some of these have lost their ancient links with the belief in spirits and magic, (96)

[113] 96. Cf. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 240ff; E.E.V. Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga" /cited in English/ in Polynesian Sociological Journal, vol. XXXII, no. 3. 1923. pp. 136-142.

and are regarded simply as useful medicines, especially by younger and middle-aged natives.

1. Headache. Take six leaves of the tutu'uli and tear each leaf in half. Either the left or the right halves are used, depending on the side of the head that pains the patient. These halves, wrapped in a clean white piece of tapa are chewed and then squeezed out on the patient's eyes and nose so that the liquid runs into both eyes and nostrils. If the diagnosis has been correct, the patient will feel better in a few minutes.

2. Headache (recurring, but only at specific hours of the day). [826] The man (or woman) administering the treatment uses the sole of his or her left or right foot, corresponding to the aching side of the patient's head, and with it very gently touches the affected part. Then the head of the patient is massaged with uhi leaves (Evodia

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585 178 [565] night, so that today among commoners it could be only a matter of a recessive movement toward a more recent custom borrowed from nobles.

as also the partial abandonment of the custom of publicly demonstrating the /bride's/ virginity (in addition to a certain simplification of the Tongan wedding costume and the gradual disappearance of the wedding baskets) could be indications of advancing change, though the tenacious adherence to the rest of the ceremony and to the typical wedding dress shows that the "Tongan wedding" may hold its own for a long time to come.

Birth

657 743 844 [744] Though there is growing interest in the motorized infant welfare service (under the leadership of a white nurse) among the population on Tongatapu, and some mothers and mothers-to-be on Vava'u and Lifuka are seeking the advice of the hospitals there, the birth itself and infant care are still purely a family affair throughout the entire Archipelago. 743 844 Most of the Tongan women who go to the large hospital in Nuku'alofa/Tonatapu immediately when their first labor pains begin, come from this seaport itself. Otherwise, people generally do not consider the hospital unless there are complications, and the woman in labor reaches it-- often lying in an old truck--only after a great loss of blood.

844 As a rule, therefore, birth takes place in the traditional manner in the living (sleeping) house where a section is arranged for the mother-to-be and a small bed is prepared (234)

234. For example, a small mat and tapa with a soft covering, for instance raw tapa (feta'aki) or a small cloth mattress with kapok filling.

for the expected child. When the labor pains of the pregnant woman [759] announce the impending birth, she asks her husband to call the ma'uli (the Tongan midwife).

621 /106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church
554 services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given
178 an important position in the village community. They may be followed
[793] in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young
[875] the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical prac-
[759] titioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But there is also many a Tongan who does not hold an office yet plays an influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers
[888] and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones.
621 Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops
554 in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods
441 in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that
178 is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the
[171] merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will be respected accordingly. (297)

[875] 297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality